1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful
[533] as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
181 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
871 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

● 555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
871 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[46] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of re-
[643] pute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker government to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[4] One article comments:

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[4]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

565 The *second class* consisting of small storekeepers, farm owners, and skilled workers.

The *third class* consisting of persons not quite acceptable by society.[8]

Although this scheme is not precise and is difficult to apply in its present form to other villages in Greece, it does tend to stress the economic and occupational factors which play an important part throughout the country. This is particularly borne out in the studies of the Near East Foundation, to which references have already been made in preceding chapters. In two of their villages there seemed to be no class differences, but in others these were recognized and explained as follows, with each paragraph applying to a different community:

The economic position of the person is all-important. Those who are well-to-do and willing to help another in time of need rank high. Family and education play little or no role.

There are no noticeable differences in the village, but the villager who is financially better off than his neighbor is accorded a somewhat higher place.

Although there are no obvious class distinctions, the farmers who are better off are honored if they are not too conservative, which most of them tend to be. The priest, community president, cooperative president and certain village councilmen form the highest social class due to their judgment, diplomacy, education and vision.

Wealth is the only determining factor in this village.

Economic factors are most significant. The richer have the higher position. Shopowners are higher than farmers. People value a person's ability to help others in time of need or to promote the interest of the village. Family background is minor.[9]

565 555 These statements show that in Greek villages it is possible for an individual who is honorable and good to gain recognition even though the reputation of his family might not be very high. Without any doubt, what is most important is the financial ability of a family to afford education for its children which, in turn, provides them with a means for occupational advancement. The status of the family with several highly educated people is almost invariably higher than that of the family where no one has gone beyond grade school.

565 554 One must not assume, however, that the status system in the Greek village is something rigid or exclusively hereditary. It is unusually mobile. This is borne out by Photiadis when he compares the pre- and postwar class structure of his village:

Social mobility became easier after the war except for the upper class. It became much more difficult to move to the upper class. The high prices of tobacco before the war gave a number of people the opportunity to be close to

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will